

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 NEA-10 SCEM-02 SCI-06 IO-14 INT-08

AID-20 CEA-02 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-11 FRB-02 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 CIEP-02 SPC-03 STR-08 TRSE-00 LAB-06

SIL-01 OMB-01 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 L-03 NSC-10 PA-04

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 /207 W

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P R 201010Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2627

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 5574

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NL

SUBJ: FURTHER GON REACTION TO THE EC SUMMIT AND THE
FONMIN'S DECEMBER 17-18 MEETING IN BRUSSELS

1. SUMMARY: DURING CONVERSATION WITH DCM ON DECEMBER 19
FONOFF STATE SECRETARY BRINKHORST SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WAS
GENERALLY SATISFIED WITH RESULTS OF EC SUMMIT, ESPECIALLY
AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLE OF A COMMON EC APPROACH TO ENERGY
PROBLEMS. HE ADDED HOWEVER THAT CONTROVERSY AND DISAGREE-
MENT WHICH CLIMAXED FONMIN'S MEETING IN BRUSSELS THREATENED
TO DESTROY PROGRESS MADE AT COPENHAGEN. DCM MADE THE
POINT THAT THE STRATEGIC RAMIFICATIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST
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CONFLICT REQUIRED THE EC-9 TO LOOK AT IT IN A BROADER

PERSPECTIVE THAN SIMPLY DEFENDING EUROPE'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS WITH THE ARABS.

2. BRINKHORST SAID THAT DOUGLAS HOME HAD INTERPOSED NO OBJECTION DURING THE DETAILED DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS OF THE SEVERAL STEPS AND DEADLINES DECIDED UPON AT THE SUMMIT TO IMPLEMENT A COMMON APPROACH TO THE ENERGY PROBLEM. HOWEVER WHEN A TOTAL IMPASSE WAS LATER REACHED ON THE COMMUNITY'S REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT FUND SIR ALEC MADE IT CLEAR THAT ALL BIDS WERE OFF AS REGARDS JOINT ACTION ON THE ENERGY PROBLEM. BRINKHORST WAS OF THE OPINION THAT THE BRITISH DEMANDS FOR AN INITIAL FUNDING OF 3 BILLION UNITS OF ACCOUNT WERE EXCESSIVE. NOT ONLY WOULD THIS ENTAIL AN INORDINATE FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION BY THE GERMANS BUT THE LATTER COULD NOT BE FAULTED IN QUESTIONING WHAT THEY WOULD GET OUT OF IT POLITICALLY. IN AN EFFORT TO BREAK THE IMPASSE THE DUTCH HAD PROPOSED THAT THE ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA FOR ESTABLISHING THE FUND BE RESTRICTED SO THAT SUBSTANTIALLY SMALLER AREA WOULD HAVE A CLAIM ON IT. THUS THE INITIAL FUNDING COULD BE MUCH SMALLER. HOWEVER, THIS COMPROMISE DID NOT WASH WITH THE BRITISH. BRINKHORST SAID HEATH HAD APPARENTLY COMMITTED HIMSELF TO GETTING A HUGE REGIONAL FUND FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS-A DANGEROUS GAMBLE, IN BRINKHORST'S JUDGMENT.

3. BRINKHORST'S CONCLUSION WAS THAT THE FINANCIAL GAP BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE GERMANS WAS SO GREAT AND THE POLITICAL DISAGREEMENT SO SHARP THAT ONLY ACTION AT THE HIGHEST POLITICAL LEVELS COULD BREAK THE IMPASSE. IF SOME HEADWAY WERE NOT MADE AT THE NEXT COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING ON JANUARY 7 THE EC IN BRINKHORST'S OPINION WOULD BE IN VERY SERIOUS TROUBLE. HE DID NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF THE BEGINNING OF A BREAK-UP OF THE EC, WITH MEMBER STATES ACTING ON THE BASIS OF THEIR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS. THE DUTCH HOWEVER WOULD CONTINUE TO EXERT EVERY EFFORT TO FORESTALL SUCH A DEVELOPMENT.

4. IN TALKING ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT AND THE OIL BOYCOTT (FOR WHICH BRINKHORST HAS NO DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY) THE DCM SUMMARIZED THE USEFUL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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FORTHCOMING DISCUSSIONS WHICH UNDER SECRETARY DONALDSON HAD JUST HAD WITH SENIOR GON OFFICIALS. THE DCM EMPHASIZED TO BRINKHORST THE BASIC US VIEW THAT A SOLUTION TO THE OIL PROBLEM COULD ONLY BE FOUND IN THE CONTEXT OF A SECURE AND LASTING SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. THE OIL BOYCOTT WAS AS MUCH A POLITICAL PROBLEM AS AN ECONOMIC ONE. THE DCM ALSO DESCRIBED SOVIET STRATEGY TO ADVANCE ITS POSITION IN THE

MIDDLE EAST BY PLAYING THE ARAB CARB DURING THE CONFLICT. APART FROM THE ISRAELIS THEMSELVES ONLY THE UNITED STATES HAD STOOD IN THE WAY OF THE SOVIETS. WE CONTINUED TO SUPPORT EUROPEAN UNITY. HOWEVER TO THE EXTENT THAT THE ECAAO HAD DEVELOPED A COMMON APPROACH ON THE MIDDLE EAST IT HAD NOT, IN OUR JUDGMENT, BEEN HELPFUL TO THE US OBJECTIVE OF LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR LASTING PEACE ON SOMETHING OTHER THAN SOVIET TERMS. WE UNDERSTOOD WHY THE DUTCH HAD BEEN CONSTRAINED TO GO ALONG WITH THE EC NOVEMBER 6 DECLARATION AND IN THE DCM'S PERSONAL OPINION IT WAS THANKS TO THE STAND TAKEN BY THE GON INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE EC-9 THAT THE LATTER'S POSITION HAD NOT TILTED FURTHER IN FAVOR OF THE ARABS.

5. COMMENT: BRINKHORST IS A CONVINCED ALTHOUGH NOT BLIND EUROPEANIST. IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS HE IS SURELY NOT A EUROPEANIST AT ANY PRICE. FURTHERMORE WE BELIEVE THAT HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE DCM WILL INDUCE HIM TO LOOK AT THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT IN A BROADER PERSPECTIVE THAN SIMPLY DEFENDING EUROPE'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS WITH THE ARABS. WE TOLD HIM THAT THE SECRETARY'S PROPOSAL FOR AN EAG GAVE THE EUROPEANS THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A NEW AND CONSTRUCTIVE DEPARTURE WITH THE UNITED STATES. GOULD

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